

[Text version of database, created 10/09/2017].

## **Annotated Swadesh wordlists for the Chiquitano group (Macro-Jê family).**

Languages included: Lomerío Chiquitano [chq-lom]; Porto Esperidião Chiquitano [chq-bra].

### **DATA SOURCES**

#### **I. Lomerío Chiquitano (Bésiro)**

Galeote Tormo 1993 = Galeote Tormo, Jesús. *Manitana auqui besüro. Gramática moderna de la lengua Chiquitana y vocabulario básico*. Santa Cruz de la Sierra: Los Huérfanos. // *A pedagogic grammar of Chiquitano accompanied with a vocabulary and sample texts. The fieldwork was carried out in Lomerío.*

Krüsi & Krüsi 1975 [1978] = Krüsi, Martin and Dorothee Krüsi. *Phonology of Chiquitano*. Work papers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Riberalta: Summer Institute of Linguistics. // *A description of Chiquitano phonology. The fieldwork was carried out in Lomerío.*

Sans 2010 = Sans, Pierric. *Éléments de sociolinguistique et de phonologie du bésiro (chiquitano). Langue en danger des basses terres de Bolivie*. (MA thesis.) Lyon: Université Lumière Lyon 2. // *A description of Chiquitano sociolinguistic situation and phonology, accompanied with an extensive wordlist.*

Sans 2013 = Sans, Pierric. *Elementos de la gramática del Bésiro: Sociolingüística – Fonología – Morfología – Textos*. Con la colaboración de: Lucas Chomez Quiviwivi. San Antonio de Lomerío, m.s. // *A grammar of Chiquitano. Several glossed texts are provided. The fieldwork was carried out in Lomerío and Concepción.*

MBI = Monkox Besiro Inglés (diccionario hablado). Versión 1.0, 12.2012. Available online at <<http://talkingdictionary.swarthmore.edu/chiquitano/?lang=es>>. // A

*Chiquitano wordlist accompanied with audio files.*

Additional sources: two translations of the New Testament, available online at <<https://www.bible.com/versions/362>> and <<https://www.bible.com/versions/534>>.

## **II. Porto Esperidião Chiquitano**

Santana 2012 = Santana, Áurea Cavalcante. *Línguas cruzadas, histórias que se mesclam: ações de documentação, valorização e fortalecimento da língua Chiquitano no Brasil*. (PhD thesis.) Goiânia: Universidade Federal de Goiás. // *A work that includes a phonological description and a wordlist of Chiquitano as spoken in the Porto Esperidião municipality in Mato Grosso, Brazil.*

### **NOTES**

#### **I. Lomerío Chiquitano (Bésiro).**

The obligatorily possessed nouns are quoted in the 3SG non-masculine form. The verbs that contain a verbal suffix are quoted inflected for 3SG non-masculine (in order to demonstrate the allomorph of the verbal suffix). Transitive verbs are cited with a 3SG non-masculine object suffix. The allomorph of 1SG subject is specified in the notes section for intransitive semantically active verbs.

The position of the stress is indicated in the transcription whenever this information is available or can be inferred from the morphology.

The nominal singular suffix  $-\mathfrak{s}(i) / -s(e) / -\mathfrak{s}(i)$ , whose final vowel is more often than not elided or devoiced, is represented as  $-\mathfrak{s} / -s / -\mathfrak{s}$  {-xü / -se / -xhi} in the UTS.

The allophonic palatalization of  $p, t, k, m$  after  $i$  is transcribed as  $p^y, t^y, k^y, m^y$  {pi, ty, ki, mi}.

UTS	Orthography	Jesuitic	Ignacian	Lomerian	Galeote Tormo (phonemic)	Krüsi & Krüsi	IPA
p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p
t	t	t	t	t	?	t	t
t̥	ty			t	?	t	c
č	ch	ch	č	ch	č	č	tʃ
k	k	c, qu	k	c, qu	k	k	k
ʔ	'			h	?	ʔ	ʔ
s	s	z, c, ç	s, z	s	s	s	s
š	xh	x	š	rr	š	š, ṣ̌	ʃ
ʂ	x	s	ř	rr	š	š, ṣ̌	ʂ
h	h			h	h	h	h
β	b	b	b	b	b	β, w	β, w
r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
y	y			y	y	y	j
m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
ɲ	ñ			ñ	ñ	ñ	ɲ
a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
i, i̇	i	ì	î	ü	ü	ü	i
e	e	e	e	e	e	e, ε	e
i, i̇	i	i	i	i	i	i, ɪ	i
o	o	o, u	o, u	o	o	ɔ, o	o
u, u̇	u	u, o	u	u, w	u	u, ʊ	u
Ṽ	Vn, Vm	Ṽ	Ṽ	Vn, Vm	?	Ṽ	Ṽ

## II. Porto Esperidião Chiquitano.

The lemmatization was carried out according to the principles outlined in the Lomerío Chiquitano section. The orthography currently in use by the Brazilian Chiquitano community was slightly modified in the cited forms: the accent is left unmarked and the allophones *ɪ*, *ʊ* are always represented as {e, o}. Major allophones (*p<sup>y</sup>*, *t<sup>y</sup>*, *k<sup>y</sup>*, *ɪ*, *ʊ*) are

marked in the UTS. Other allophones ( $\partial$ ,  $\upsilon$ ,  $\varepsilon$ ,  $\beta$ ) are represented with the characters ( $a$ ,  $o$ ,  $e$ ,  $v$ ), since they are in free variation with  $a$ ,  $o$ ,  $e$ ,  $v$  respectively.

The consonant  $ts \sim s$  is represented as UTS  $c$ , since the affricate realization (which alternates freely with [s]) seems to be more archaic. Although Santana [2012: 140] states that [ts] and [s] are allophones of the phoneme /s/ that occur in free variation in syllable onsets, this variation is not attested in all the words where it could be expected. Crucially, [ts] and [s] consistently contrast in the Migueleño variety of Chiquitano (own fieldwork carried out in San Juan de Lomerío), as well as in the variety of San Javier attested in colonial sources; the variation  $ts \sim s$  is attested in Brazilian Chiquitano only the words that appear with an affricate in Chiquitano varieties where this segment is contrastive. This indicates that  $ts$  and  $s$  (UTS  $c$  and  $s$ ) are distinct phonemes in Brazilian Chiquitano, even though the former can be optionally realized as [s].

Non-standard symbols and digraphs in the orthography are:  $\check{s}$  {ch},  $\check{s}$  {rch},  $\check{c}$  {tch},  $n$  {nh},  $i$  {ü}.

Database compiled and annotated by: André Nikulin (June 2017).

## 1. ALL

Lomerio Chiquitano *n=a=naiŋ'a* {*nanaiña*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *a=naiŋ'ã ~ a=nay'ã* {*ananhã ~ anaiã*} (1).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 60; Galeote Tormo 1993: 343; Sans 2010: 151; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 61. Plural: *n=a=ma=naiŋa* {*namanaiña*}.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 289.

## 2. ASHES

Lomerio Chiquitano *t̥iβit'i-ŋ* {*t̥iβitixi*} (1).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 357; Sans 2010: 137; MBI.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Not attested.

## 3. BARK

Lomerio Chiquitano *iʔak'i-š ~ ʔak'i-š* {*ityakixhi ~ tyakixhi*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *tʰak'i-s'oy-se* {*tiaki soise*} (1).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 356 ('leather'); MBI (quoted as *n=iʔaki* {*nityaki*}). Polysemy: 'skin / bark / peel / hide / leather'.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 286. Literally 'skin of a tree'.

## 4. BELLY

Lomerio Chiquitano *kipor'o-ŋ* {*kiporoxi*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *kipʰoru-ŋ* {*kipiorurch*} (1) / *kiv'ovi* {*kivovi*} (2).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 86, 351; Sans 2010: 140; MBI. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach'. Cf. the adposition *=kiβ'oβi* {*=kibobi*} 'in one's stomach' [Sans 2013: 45; Galeote Tormo 1993: 335].

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 275. 1SG: *n=i=k'ipʰoru ~ n=i=k'ipʰoŋ* {*nikipioru ~ nikipiorch*}. Santana 2012: 275.

## 5. BIG

Lomerio Chiquitano *sirima-n'a-ŋ* {*sirimanaxi*} (1).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 101-102, 355; Sans 2010: 156; MBI. Polysemy: 'big / a lot'. Plural: *po=sirima-na-ka* {posirimanaka}.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Not attested.

## 6. BIRD

Lomerio Chiquitano *n=u=t'au-ma* {*nutauma*} (1).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 21, 31, 56; Galeote Tormo 1993: 378; Sans 2010: 133; MBI. Morphologically a diminutive, but the form *\*n=u=ta t̥ɕ* {*\*nutauxi*} is not attested. *n=u=taɨ-ma* {*nutaima*} [Galeote Tormo 1993: 347] is probably a typo.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Not attested.

## 7. BITE

Lomerio Chiquitano *'osi-o* {*osio*} (1).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 360; Sans 2010: 143. *y*-class. Polysemy: 'to bite / to sting'. Distinct from *β=a=p'ata-ra* {*bapatara*} 'to chew' (*ša*-class) [Galeote Tormo 1993: 352].

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Not attested. Distinct from *v=a=p'ata-ra* {*vapatara*} 'to chew' (*ša*-class) [Santana 2012: 284].

## 8. BLACK

Lomerio Chiquitano *kɨβis'i* ~ *kɨβ'isi* {*kɨbisi*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *puc'i-š* {*pusich*} (2).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 102; Sans 2010: 150; MBI. Plural: *βo=kɨβisi* {*bokibisi*}.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 287.

## 9. BLOOD

Lomerio Chiquitano *n=ot'o-ɕ* {*notoxi*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *n=ot'o-ɕ* {*notorch*} (1).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 31; Galeote Tormo 1993: 346; Sans 2010: 133; MBI.

Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano: Santana 2012: 288.

## 10. BONE

Lomerio Chiquitano *ip<sup>y</sup>ai-š ~ p<sup>y</sup>ai-š {ipiaixhi ~ piaixhi} (1).*

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 86, 344, 350; Sans 2010: 133 (*n=ip<sup>y</sup>e<sub>r</sub>š* {nipieixhi}); MBI.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Not attested.

## 11. BREAST

Lomerio Chiquitano *tus<sup>i</sup>-š {tusixhi} (1),* Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *tus<sup>i</sup>-š {tusich} # (1).*

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 86, 357; Sans 2010: 140; MBI. Polysemy: 'chest / stomach'. Distinct from *p<sup>y</sup>ai-š ~ n=ip<sup>y</sup>ai-š* {piaixi ~ nipaixi} 'female breast' [Galeote Tormo 1993: 86, 350; Sans 2010: 141].

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 283. Only the 1SG *n=i=č<sup>i</sup>us<sub>1</sub>* {nitchuse}, 3SG *t<sup>y</sup>us<sup>i</sup>-š ~ č<sup>i</sup>us<sup>i</sup>-š* {tiusich ~ tchusich} are actually attested. Distinct from *n=ip<sup>y</sup>ai-š* {nipiaürch} 'female breast'.

## 12. BURN

Lomerio Chiquitano *ij<sub>n</sub>=onoko-ta {iñonokota} (1).*

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 338. The active verb *m=a=kiš<sub>u</sub>-mu-nu* {makixumunu} (*ɲa*-class), glossed as 'to burn' in [Galeote Tormo 1993: 161, 348], is not attested in the existing Bésiro translations of the New Testament; its stative counterpart *kiš<sub>u</sub>-βu ~ kiš<sub>i</sub>-βu* {kixubu ~ kixibu} [Galeote Tormo 1993: 335; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 82] is attested in Revelation 16:8 ('the sun was allowed to **scorch** people with fire'), and its derivative *kiš<sub>u</sub>-k<sup>u</sup>-š* {kixukuxi} means 'sunburn' [Galeote Tormo 1993: 335]. All these facts suggest that *m=a=kiš<sub>u</sub>-mu-nu* {makixumunu} is not the basic root for 'to burn' and means rather 'to scorch, to burn skin'. The verb *ij<sub>n</sub>=onoko-ta* {iñonokota} is less frequent than *m=a=kiš<sub>u</sub>-mu-nu* {makixumunu} in our sources but abounds in the existent Bésiro translations of the New Testament in verses like Luke 8:16, 15:8, Mark 4:21 ('to **light** a lamp'), Luke 3:17, Matthew 3:12 ('to **burn up** the chaff'), Revelation 17:16 ('to eat her flesh and **burn** her with fire'), James 3:5 ('is **set on fire** by a small spark'), Acts 19:19 ('**burned** them publicly'), Jews 13:11 ('for the bodies of those beasts, whose blood is brought into the sanctuary by the high priest for sin, are **burned** without the camp'). This is likely the basic root for 'to burn / to set on fire'. Distinct from *o(:)-mo* {o(o)mo} 'burnt' [Galeote Tormo 1993: 349; Sans 2010: 143; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 65]; *wi<sub>r</sub>a-ra* {uirara} 'to burn (intransitive) / to become hot' [Galeote Tormo 1993: 358, 363].

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Not attested. Cf. *ij<sub>n</sub>=ōnok<sup>o</sup>-ta* {inhonokota} 'to set on fire' [Santana 2012: 273], which is only attested as inchoative; *h<sup>o</sup>wra-ra* {hourara} 'to burn (intransitive)' [Santana 2012: 274]. The verbs *h<sup>o</sup>-mv ~ =.o<sup>o</sup>-mv* {homo ~ =oomo}, *kiš<sup>i</sup>-vv* {küchüvo} [Santana 2012: 288] are most likely intransitive.

## 13. NAIL

Lomerio Chiquitano *kiki<sup>i</sup>-š {kikixhi} (1).*

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 335; Sans 2010: 141; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 64 (*n=iš=i=kiki* [nixhikiki] 'my fingernail'); MBI. Polysemy: 'fingernail / *Myracrodruon urundeuva*'.  
**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Not attested.

14. CLOUD

Lomerio Chiquitano *kisaiβo-š* {*kisaiβoxi*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *kucago-š* ~ *kucaʔo-š* {*kusagorch* ~ *kusa'orch*} (1).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 19, 377; MBI.  
**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 285.

15. COLD

Lomerio Chiquitano *šim<sup>ʷ</sup>a-n'ene* {*xhimianene*} (1) / *uš'uši-o* ~ *uš'uši-o* {*uxuxio* ~ *uxuxhio*} (2), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *uš'uši-w* {*urchurchio*} (2).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 353; Sans 2010: 137, 174; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 64. Galeote Tormo 1993: 357; Sans 2013: 59-60. Used at least of liquids.  
**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 282. Cf. *ušuš-ki-š* {*urchurchkich*} 'cold weather'.

16. COME

Lomerio Chiquitano *'is=e-ka-ti* {*isekati*} (1) / *kua-ti* {*kuati*} (2), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *=e-k'a-to* {*ekato*} (1).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 183, 340; Sans 2010: 143; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 63. Suppletive (used in 1SG, 1INCL, 1EXCL and 2PL forms). Distinct from *i=ɲa-ta-* {*iñatai*} 'to arrive / to be enough' [Sans 2013: 49-50, 53, 58, 61, 67; Galeote Tormo 1993: 159; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 89] and *aɲan'a-* {*aiñanai*} 'to arrive (subjunctive)' [Sans 2013: 48-49, 68, 70; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 89-91]. Other forms: *a=ye-ka-ti* {*ayekati*} (2SG), *aye-* {*aye-*} (subjunctive 3 person non-masculine) [Galeote Tormo 1993: 183; Sans 2013: 64]. Sans 2013: 48, 60, 65, 67, 68, 70; Galeote Tormo 1993: 183, 340; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 91. Suppletive (used in the 3rd person forms).  
**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 291. Only the inflected form 1EXCL *sov=e-k'a-to* {*sovekato*} is attested. Distinct from *ĩ=ɲa-ta'-y* / *hĩ=ɲ'aʔa* {*inhatai* / *hĩha'a*} 'to arrive' [Santana 2012: 278].

17. DIE



Lomerio Chiquitano *k'o-ijo {koiño}* (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *k'õ-jo ~ k'õ-yo {konho ~ kōjo}* (1).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 22, 33, 44; Galeote Tormo 1993: 377; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 86. 1SG: *i=sõ-ka* {isonka}. Nominalization: *kõ-k'o-ş* {konkoxi} [Sans 2010: 143].

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 285. Cf. *mo=k'õ-jo, ko-n'o-ka* {mokonho, konhoka} 'dead.PL' [Santana 2012: 275].

## 18. DOG

Lomerio Chiquitano *tamok'o-ş {tamokoxi}* (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *n=o=tamok'o-ş / tamok'o-ş {notamokórch / tamokórch}* (1).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 11, 22; Galeote Tormo 1993: 15, 16, 19, 379; Sans 2010: 133; MBI. *tamako-ş* {tamakoxi} [Galeote Tormo 1993: 355] must be a typo.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 277. Male / female speech.

## 19. DRINK

Lomerio Chiquitano *ča-βo {chabo}* (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *č'a-vv {tchavo}* (1).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 62, 65, 66; Galeote Tormo 1993: 337; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 67, 68, 69, 82.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 275, 289. Polysemy: 'to drink / to suck'.

## 20. DRY

Lomerio Chiquitano *w'iβa-βo {uübabo}* (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *h'oga-vv {hogavo}* (1).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 357, 382; Sans 2010: 157. Cf. the causative *iji=wima-maka-ta ~ iji=wima-maka-ta* {iñuüimamacata ~ iñuimamacata} [Galeote Tormo 1993: 338, 382; Sans 2010: 149]. Apparently distinct from *s'i-βo* {siibo} 'to become dry' [Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 74] (translated as 'dry plant' in [Sans 2010: 139]).

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 289.

## 21. EAR

Lomerio Chiquitano *umas'u-ş {umasuxi}* (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *nas'u-ş*

{*nhasurch*} (2).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 26; Galeote Tormo 1993: 86, 358; Sans 2010: 140; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 61 (=umaso- {=umaso-}). 1SG: *n=iŋ=umasu-ŝ* {niñumasuxi} [Sans 2013] ~ *n=iŋ=umaso-ŝ* {niñumasoxi} [Krüsi & Krüsi 1975]). Cf. *mas'u-ŝ* {masuxi}, translated as 'hearing' in [MBI]; *mas-toe-s* {mastoese} 'without an ear' [Galeote Tormo 1993: 342] (probably as a result of vowel elision).  
**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 263, 264, 286. 1SG: *n=iŋ=ŋ'asv* {ninhaso}.

## 22. EARTH

Lomerio Chiquitano *ki-ŝ* {*kixi*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *ki'i-ŝ* {*küürch*} (1).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 335; MBI.  
**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 289.

## 23. EAT

Lomerio Chiquitano *β=...=a-s'o* {*baso*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *v=...='a-cv* {*vaso*} (1).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 22, 65; Galeote Tormo 1993: 339; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 67, 68. *iša*-class. Imperative: *aʔa* {a'a}. Distinct from *y=a-k'a-ŝ* {yakaxi} 'being / person / eating / laughter' [Galeote Tormo 1993: 359].  
**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 278. Imperative: *aʔa* {a'a}.

## 24. EGG

Lomerio Chiquitano *čiki-š* {*chikixhi*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *čiki-š* ~ *šiki-š* {*tchikich* ~ *chikich*} (1).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 336; Sans 2010: 134; MBI. Polysemy: 'egg / penis'.  
**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 286.

## 25. EYE

Lomerio Chiquitano *sit'o-ŝ* {*sitoxi*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *sut'o-ŝ* {*sutorch*} (1).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 31; Galeote Tormo 1993: 86, 355; Sans 2010: 140; MBI.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 209.

## 26. FAT

Lomerio Chiquitano *matek'a-ɕ* ~ *n=i=m<sup>y</sup>atek'a-ɕ* {*matekaxi* ~ *nimiatekaxi*} (-1).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 342, 344 (only 'butter'); MBI. Polysemy: 'butter / fat'. Borrowed from Spanish *mant'eka* {manteca} 'butter'.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Not attested.

## 27. FEATHER

Lomerio Chiquitano *iki'-š* {*ikixhi*} (1).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 380 (*n=ik'i-š* {nikixhi}); Sans 2010: 133 (*n=ik'i-š* {nikixhi}); MBI. Polysemy: 'hair / feather'.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Not attested.

## 28. FIRE

Lomerio Chiquitano *pe-s* {*pese*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *peʔ'e-s* {*pe'es*} (1).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 11, 58, 59, 60, 61; Sans 2010: 137; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 65, 88; MBI.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 281.

## 29. FISH

Lomerio Chiquitano *n=o=p<sup>y</sup>ok'o-ɕ* {*nopiokoxi*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *n=o=p<sup>y</sup>ok'o-ɕ* {*nopiokorch*} (1).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 346; Sans 2010: 133; MBI.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 286.

## 30. FLY

Lomerio Chiquitano *β=a=so-* {*baso-*} (1).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 386. *ya*-class. 3 person verbal suffix unknown. Cf.  $\beta=a=so-kv-\xi$  {basokoxi} 'flight' [Galeote Tormo 1993: 333].

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Not attested.

### 31. FOOT

Lomerio Chiquitano *pop'e-s* {*popese*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *pop'e-s* {*popes*} (1).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 24; Galeote Tormo 1993: 87, 351; Sans 2010: 140; MBI.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 286. Only the inflected 1SG form  $n=i=p^yope$  {nipiope} is actually attested.

### 32. FULL

Lomerio Chiquitano *'ata-so* {*ataso*} (1).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 58, 60; Galeote Tormo 1993: 332; Sans 2010: 156; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 60. Said of things. Distinct from *aβ'e:ko* {abeeko} 'full (satisfied)' [Galeote Tormo 1993: 331; Sans 2010: 155], *ti=saɪpi* {tisaipi} 'almost full' (morphological segmentation is tentative) [Galeote Tormo 1993: 226].

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Not attested. Distinct from *av'ejku* {aveiko} 'full (satisfied)' [Santana 2012: 278].

### 33. GIVE

Lomerio Chiquitano  $\beta=a=\check{c}'e-\beta o$  {*yacheka* / *bachebo*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano  $v=a=\check{c}'e-o$  {*vatcheo*} (1).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 42, 64; Galeote Tormo 1993: 177, 359; Sans 2010: 144; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 60, 63, 89. *ya*-class.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 279.

### 34. GOOD

Lomerio Chiquitano *'ušja* / *'ušiã-* {*uxhia* / *uxhian-*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *h'ošija* ~ *'ošija* ~ *h'ošija* ~ *'ošija* {*horchinha* ~ *orchinha* ~ *hochinha* ~ *ochinha*} (1).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 15, 69, 70; Sans 2010: 156; Galeote Tormo 1993: 358; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 65. Polysemy: 'good / well /

to do'. Distinct from *kopio-ŝ-ta<sub>i</sub>* {koñoxitai} 'beautiful' [Galeote Tormo 1993: 334].

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 276. Distinct from *kopi'o-ŝ* {konhorch} 'pretty / good', *mast'aka-ma* {mastakama} 'beautiful' [Santana 2012: 276].

### 35. GREEN

Lomerio Chiquitano  $n=obit'ai-ŝ \sim n=obit'ai-š$  {*nobitaixi* ~ *nobitaixhi*} (1).

#### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 345; Sans 2010: 150; MBI. The prefix *n=* is segmented tentatively.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Not attested.

### 36. HAIR

Lomerio Chiquitano  $i=k'i-š$  {*ikixhi*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *taan'u-ka* {*taanuka*} (2).

#### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 86, 339, 345, 380; Sans 2010: 140; MBI. Polysemy: 'hair / feather'.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 277. Plural of *taan'u-ŝ* {*taanurch*}.

### 37. HAND

Lomerio Chiquitano  $eʔe-s$  {*e'ese*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano  $n=eʔe-s$  {*ne'es*} (1).

#### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 12, 31; Galeote Tormo 1993: 87, 337; Sans 2010: 140; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 68, 78; MBI. 1SG:  $n=in=e$  {*niñé*}.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 284. 1SG:  $n=i=n'e \sim n=in'eʔe$  {*ninhē* ~ *ninhēʔe*}.

### 38. HEAD

Lomerio Chiquitano  $tan'u-ŝ \sim \text{ʔ}an'u-ŝ$  {*tanuxi* ~ *tyanuxi*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano  $t^y an'u-ŝ$  {*tianurch*} (1).

#### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 19, 25; Galeote Tormo 1993: 86, 355; Sans 2010: 140; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 87; MBI. 1SG:  $n=i=čanu$  {*nichanu*} according to [Sans 2013],  $n=i=tanu$  {*nitanu*} according to [Krüsi & Krüsi 1975].

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 277. 1SG:  $n=i=čāna$  {*nitchana*}.

### 39. HEAR

Lomerio Chiquitano *ʔokoʔi* {*onko'i*} (1) / *ʔsape-ro* {*onsapero*} (2).

#### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 55-56; Galeote Tormo 1993: 160; Sans 2010: 144; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 72-73, 82, 88-89. *ɲ*-class. Distinct from *ra-βo(-ti)* {*rabo(ti)*} 'is audible' [Sans 2013: 54, 55; Galeote Tormo 1993: 351]. Sans 2013: 56; Galeote Tormo 1993: 348; Sans 2010: 144. *ɲ*-class.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Not attested.

### 40. HEART

Lomerio Chiquitano *ausas'i-ɕ* {*ausasixi*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *koracõne-s* {*korasones*} (-1).

#### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 25, 27; Sans 2010: 133; Galeote Tormo 1993: 86, 333; MBI. Linking consonant =y= {=y=}.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 209, 279. Attested without the expected nominal marker -s. The inflected 1SG form *n=e=coracõne* {*nesorasone*} is also attested. Borrowed from Spanish *koras'õn* {*corazón*}.

### 41. HORN

Lomerio Chiquitano *ʔapak'i-ɕ* {*tyapakixi*} (1).

#### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2010: 133; MBI.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Not attested.

### 42. I

Lomerio Chiquitano *'a=ɕi=ɲ-i* / *i-* ~ *is-* ~ *iy-* ~ *ijɲ-* ~ *iš-* {*axiñi* / *i-* ~ *is-* ~ *iy-* ~ *iñ-* ~ *ixh-*} (1),  
Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *'a=ši=ɲ-ẽ* ~ *h'a=ši=ɲ-ẽ* / *i-* ~ *ijɲ-* {*achinhẽ* ~ *hachinhẽ* / *i-* ~ *inh-*} (1).

#### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 24-28, 51; Galeote Tormo 1993: 126; Sans 2010: 151. Pronoun. *'a=ɕi=ɲ-i* {*axiñi*} is a pronoun (cf. the accusative enclitic =ɲ-i {=ñi}). The other forms are allomorphs of a prefix found in nouns and descriptive verbs. Cf. S<sub>A</sub> marker (*i*)š-a- ~ *y-a-* ~ *ɲ-a-* {(i)xha- ~ ya- ~ ña-}; A marker ...-i- {i-} [Sans 2013: 29]./

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 281, 284.

#### 43. KILL

Lomerio Chiquitano  $\beta=a=ta\beta a\dot{i}-ro \sim \beta=a=ta\beta a\dot{i}-yo$  {*batabairo* ~ *batabayo*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano  $v=a=tav'ay-$  {*vatavai-*} (1).

##### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 30-32; Galeote Tormo 1993: 163; Sans 2010: 144; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 88, 91. *ša*-class.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 284. Only the inflected 1SG form  $\check{s}=a=tav'ay-k'a$  {*chatavaikia*} is actually attested. The 3 person verbal suffix is unknown.

#### 44. KNEE

Lomerio Chiquitano  $\check{i}\check{c}'a-\check{s}$  {*inchaxi*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano  $n=\check{i}\check{c}'a-\check{s}$  {*itcharch*} # (1).

##### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 28; Galeote Tormo 1993: 87, 338; Sans 2010: 141; MBI.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 283. Only the 1SG  $n=i=\check{i}\check{c}a$  {*nitcha*} is actually attested.

#### 45. KNOW

Lomerio Chiquitano  $i=p^y a-ka$  {*ipiaka*} (1) / *tusi-o* ~ *tusi-u* {*tusio* ~ *tusiu*} (2), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *tus'i* ~ *tuse-w* {*tusi* ~ *tuseo*} # (2).

##### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 50, 62; Sans 2010: 158; Galeote Tormo 1993: 162, 339; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 86. Distinct from  $i=suputaka_i \sim u=suputaka_i$  {*isuputakai* ~ *usuputakai*} 'to know (a person) / to be known' [Galeote Tormo 1993: 340; Sans 2013: 144]. Sans 2013: 48, 68, 69, 70; Galeote Tormo 1993: 357. An intransitive verb, more properly glossed as 'to be known'; very frequent in the available texts.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 288. Means 'to be known' and is used in constructions like 'it is known to X'. It is unclear if an active counterpart exists in this dialect.

#### 46. LEAF

Lomerio Chiquitano  $as'u-\check{s}$  {*asuxi*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano  $n=asu-s'u-\check{s}$  {*nasusurch*} (1).

##### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 344 ( $n=as'u-\check{s}$  {*nasuxi*}); Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 84; MBI. Cf.  $n=asu-s'i-\check{s}$  {*nasuxixi*} [Sans 2010: 137]. Apparently more basic than  $n=okisap'i-\check{s}$  {*nokixhapixhi*} [Galeote Tormo 1993: 346]. Distinct from  $ut'u\check{i}-\check{s}$  {*utuixi*} 'sprout / bud / shoot' [Galeote Tormo 1993: 347, 358].

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 281.

#### 47. LIE

Lomerio Chiquitano  $\beta=a=riki-ro$  {barikiro} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano  $v=a=riki-$  {varükü-} (1).

##### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 164, 353, 361; Sans 2010: 146; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 66. *ša*-class. Glossed variably as 'to lie down' or 'lying'.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 279. Only the inflected 1SG form  $\check{s}=a=rik'i-ka$  {charüküka} is actually attested. The 3 person verbal suffix is unknown.

#### 48. LIVER

Lomerio Chiquitano  $p^y ak'ã-\xi \sim n=ip^y ak'ã-\xi$  {piakanxi ~ nipiakanxi} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano  $p^y aka'a-\xi$  {piakaarch} (1).

##### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 86, 350; Sans 2010: 142.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 281. 1SG:  $n=i=p^y ak'a?a \sim n=i=p^y ak'a-\xi$  {nipiaka'a ~ nipiakarch}.

#### 49. LONG

Lomerio Chiquitano  $a\beta aesa$  {abaesa} (1) /  $ya\beta ai-\check{s}$  {yabaixhi} (2), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano  $ava'i-\check{s} \sim hava'i-\check{s} \sim haruva'i-\check{s}$  {avaich ~ havaich ~ haruvaich} (2).

##### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 331. Galeote Tormo 1993: 359. Used of ears, face, shoulders and feet in the examples [Galeote Tormo 1993: 326-328]. Distinct from  $paku\beta a'i-\check{s}$  {pakubaixhi} 'wide'.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 275, 278.

#### 50. LOUSE

Lomerio Chiquitano  $n=ap'a-\xi$  {napaxi} (1).

##### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 343; Sans 2010: 133; MBI. The prefix *n=* is segmented tentatively.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Not attested.



## 51. MAN

Lomerio Chiquitano  $n=on't̃-s$  ~  $n=on't̃-s$  {*ñoñinxí* ~ *noñinxí*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano  $n=õni't̃-s$  ~  $n=õni'u-s$  {*noniürch* ~ *noniurch*} (1).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 42, 55, 67; Galeote Tormo 1993: 15, 16, 19, 346, 373; Sans 2010: 155; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 64, 70, 86. According to Galeote Tormo,  $n=on't̃-s$  {*ñoñinxí*} is restricted to male speech, while  $n=on't̃-s$  {*noñinxí*} occurs only in female speech.  
**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 282.

## 52. MANY

Lomerio Chiquitano  $uβiu$  {*ubiu*} (1) /  $sirim'a-na$  {*sirimana*} (2), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano  $cunum'a$  ~  $cunum'ã-na$  {*sunuma* ~ *sunumana*} (2).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 130, 226, 358. Probably distinct from *čama* {*chama*} 'much / a lot' [Galeote Tormo 1993: 130, 226; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 60, 84], *taruku* {*taruku*} 'much' [Galeote Tormo 1993: 226, 356; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 84]. Galeote Tormo 1993: 355; Sans 2010: 150; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 88. Polysemy: 'many / several'.  
**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 275, 285. Translated as 'many, quite a lot'.

## 53. MEAT

Lomerio Chiquitano  $n=an'e-s$  {*nañese*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano  $n=an'e-s$  {*nanhes*} (1).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 42, 65; Galeote Tormo 1993: 365; Sans 2010: 134; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 77, 84; MBI.  
**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 277.

## 54. MOON

Lomerio Chiquitano  $pã-s$  {*panxi*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano  $p'a:-ma$  ~  $pa'ã-ma$  {*pama* ~ *paama*} (1).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 350; Sans 2010: 137; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 67; MBI. Polysemy: 'moon / month'. The diminutive  $pa(:)-ma$  {*pa(a)ma*} is also used.  
**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 283.

## 55. MOUNTAIN

Lomerio Chiquitano *yiritʰu-ɕ* {*yirityuxi*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *dʷiritʷu-ɕ* {*diiritiurch*} (1).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 360; Sans 2010: 138, 168; MBI. Polysemy: 'hill / mountain'.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 289.

## 56. MOUTH

Lomerio Chiquitano *arʰu-ɕ* {*aruxi*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *n=aʰi-š* ~ *n=aʰi-š* {*naʰich* ~ *naich*} (2).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 26; Galeote Tormo 1993: 86, 332; Sans 2010: 141, 174; MBI. Linking consonant =s= {=s=}. Cf. the adposition =aʰi {=aʰi} 'in one's mouth' [Sans 2013: 46; Galeote Tormo 1993: 31] (linking consonant =s= {=s=}).

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 276. Linking consonant =c= {=s=}. Distinct from *arʰu-ɕ* ~ *n=arʰu-ɕ* {*arurch* ~ *narurch*} 'lip' (linking consonant =c= {=s=}) [Santana 2012: 276].

## 57. NAME

Lomerio Chiquitano *irʰi-š* {*irixhi*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *n=irʰi-š* {*nürich*} # (1).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 56, 67, 68, 69, 70; Galeote Tormo 1993: 359; Sans 2010: 153; MBI (*n=irʰi-š* {*nirixhi*}). 1SG: *n=is=irʰi* {*nisiiri*} [Sans 2010: 153].

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 285. Only the 1SG =s=*irʰi* {=süre}, 2SG *n=...=irʰi* {*nüre*} forms are actually attested.

## 58. NECK

Lomerio Chiquitano *tʰi-ɕ* {*tixi*} (1).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 25; Galeote Tormo 1993: 87, 357; Sans 2010: 141; MBI. Also used as an adposition: =tʰi {=ti} (unstressed root) 'on one's neck' [Sans 2013: 45].

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Not attested.

## 59. NEW

Lomerio Chiquitano *nueβu-ɕ* {*nuebuxi*} (-1).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Examples in the New Testament: 2 Corinthians 5:17; Luke 5:36, 22:20, etc. Borrowed from Spanish *nuevo* {nuevo}.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Not attested.

60. NIGHT

Lomerio Chiquitano *toβ'i-š* {*tobixhi*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *tov'i-š* {*tovich*} (1).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 53, 54; Galeote Tormo 1993: 356; Sans 2010: 137; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 88; MBI.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 285.

61. NOSE

Lomerio Chiquitano *ip'a-š* {*iñaxi*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *n=ñp'a-š* {*nñharch*} # (1).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 7, 28; Galeote Tormo 1993: 86, 338; Sans 2010: 141, 174; MBI.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 285. Only the 1SG form *n=...=ñpa* {*nñha*} is actually attested.

62. NOT

Lomerio Chiquitano *či-...-pɨ* {*chɨ-...-pɨ*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *č-...-pɨ ~ č-...-pv* {*tch-...-pü ~ tch-...-po*} (1).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 76; Galeote Tormo 1993: 175. Described as a circumfix. Its suffixal part also occurs in the form treated as conditional by Galeote Tormo and probably goes back to an irrealis marker, even though these markers may co-occur in negative conditional constructions if a directional clitic *=ti* {*=ti*} is present.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 270, 271.

63. ONE

Lomerio Chiquitano *tam'ãŋ* {*taman*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *tam'aʔa* {*tama'a*} (1).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 47; Galeote Tormo 1993: 355 (*tam'an* ~ *tama* {*taman* ~ *tama*}); Sans 2010: 151; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 89.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 290.

#### 64. PERSON

Lomerio Chiquitano *kristi'anu-ɕ* {*krixtianuxi*} (-1) / *n=ak'a-ɕ* {*nakaxi*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *krist<sup>y</sup>an'u-ɕ* {*kristianurch*} (-1).

##### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 55, 69; Galeote Tormo 1993: 379. Borrowed from Spanish *krist-lan-o* {*cristiano*} 'Christian'. Sans 2013: 62, 63 (only 'stay / event'); Galeote Tormo 1993: 343. Polysemy: 'stay / event / being / person'.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 287. Polysemy: 'person / Christian'. Borrowed from Spanish *krist-lan-o* {*cristiano*} 'Christian'.

#### 65. RAIN

Lomerio Chiquitano *ta-ɕ* {*taxi*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *ta'a-ɕ* {*taarch*} (1).

##### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 356; Sans 2010: 137; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 68. Distinct from *ɕoβeo-r'o-ɕ* {*xobeoroxi*} 'drizzle' [Sans 2010: 168; MBI], derived from *ɕoβeo-ka* {*xobeoka*} 'to rain' [Galeote Tormo 1993: 353].

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 278.

#### 66. RED

Lomerio Chiquitano *kit'uriki* ~ *kit'uriki* {*kituriki* ~ *kituriki*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *kit'iriki* {*kitürike*} (1).

##### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 102, 336 (*kit'uriki* {*kituriki*}); Sans 2010: 150 (*kit'uriki* {*kituriki*}); MBI (*kit'uriki* {*kituriki*}). Plural: *βo=kituriki* {*bokituriki*}.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 290.

#### 67. ROAD

Lomerio Chiquitano *kutuβi'u-ɕ* {*kutubiuxi*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *kituvi'u-ɕ* ~ *kutuvi'u-ɕ* {*kütuviurch* ~ *kutuviurch*} (1).

##### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 365; Sans 2010: 170; MBI. Cf. *sēta-ɕ* {*sentaxi*} 'path' [Sans 2010: 169; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 91] (a borrowing from Spanish *sendero* {*sendero*}).

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 280.

## 68. ROOT

Lomerio Chiquitano *šanak'a-š* ~ *n=išanak'a-š* {*xhanakaxi* ~ *nixhanakaxi*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *šanak'a-š* {*chanakarch*} (1).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 381; Sans 2010: 138; MBI.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 288.

## 69. ROUND

### References and notes:

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Not attested.

## 70. SAND

Lomerio Chiquitano *kios'o-š* {*kiosoxi*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *kiic'o-š* {*küüsorçh*} (1).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 335; MBI.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 274.

## 71. SAY

Lomerio Chiquitano *s=ukana-ŋi* {*sukanañi*} (1) / *nã-ti* {*nanti*} (2).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 70; Galeote Tormo 1993: 162; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 65, 86. Suppletive. Used in the 1st and the 2nd person (2SG: *=ukan-i* {ukani}, 1INCL: *om=ukana-ŋi* {omukanañi}, 1EXCL: *sum=ukana-ŋi* {sumukanañi}, 2PL: *a ɣn=ukana-ŋo* {aumukanaño}). Distinct from *m=a=niṭ'a-na* {manityana} 'to speak' (*ša*-class) [Sans 2013: 32; Galeote Tormo 1993: 159; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 62]; *β=a=pari-o* {bapario} 'to talk' (*ša*-class) [Sans 2013: 63; Galeote Tormo 1993: 160; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 81]; ...=*ura-βo-ʔi* {uraboʔi} 'to tell' (*s*-class) [Sans 2013: 57; Sans 2010: 145; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 88, 90, 92].P

92]. Sans 2013: 42, 49-51; Galeote Tormo 1993: 162; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 88-89, 91. Suppletive. Used in the 3rd person (3SG.M: *nã-ti* {nanti}, 3PL.NM: *mu=nã-ti* {munanti}, 3PL.M: *mu=na-ma-ti* {munamati}).

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Not attested. Distinct from *m=a=niṭʷa-* {manitia-} (*ša*-class, 3 person verbal suffix unknown), *v=...=ura-v'o-y* {vuravoi} 'to talk' [Santana 2012: 281].P

## 72. SEE

Lomerio Chiquitano *asa-ra-ti* {*asarati*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *ca-ra-ti* {*saratü*} # (1) / *'avu-rv* / *hav'o* {*avuro* / *havo*} # (2).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 56; Galeote Tormo 1993: 333, 359. *y*-class. Distinct from  $\beta$ =...=*asa-βori-ko* {basaboriko} 'to look' [Galeote Tormo 1993: 160, 359]. Cf. *asa-βori-m'a* {asaborimia} 'to see' [Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 90].R

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 285. Translated as 'to look'.Santana 2012: 285, 286. Unclear morphology.

## 73. SEED

Lomerio Chiquitano *n=i'y'o-š* {*niyoxi*} (1) / *sem'iya-š* {*semyaxi*} (-1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *n=i'o-š* {*niorch*} (1).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** MBI. The prefix *n=* is segmented tentatively.Sans 2010: 138. Borrowed from Spanish *sem-'iya* {semilla}.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 289.

## 74. SIT

Lomerio Chiquitano *tīmō-so* {*timonso*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *tomō-* {*tomō-*} (1).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 19, 30, 51; Galeote Tormo 1993: 160, 338; Sans 2010: 146; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 71. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 289. Only inflected forms are attested. The 3 person verbal suffix is unknown.

## 75. SKIN

Lomerio Chiquitano *ṭak'i-š* ~ *ṭak'i-š* {*ityakixhi* ~ *tyakixhi*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *tʰak'i-š* {*tiakich*} (1).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 341, 345, 356; Sans 2010: 134, 143; MBI. Polysemy: 'skin / bark / peel / hide / leather'. In [MBI], *n=i=ṭaki aṇetu-š* {*nityaki añetuxi*} 'human skin' is cited.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 286. Polysemy: 'skin / leather / peel / bark'.

## 76. SLEEP

Lomerio Chiquitano  $m='a=nu-mu \sim m='a=nu-mo$  {*manumu ~ manumo*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano  $m=a=no-$  {*mano-*} (1).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 32; Galeote Tormo 1993: 16, 162, 352; Sans 2010: 146; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 63, 83-84. *ša*-class.  $\beta a=riki-ro-ma$  {barikiroma}, translated as 'they sleep' in [Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 84], actually means 'they lie'.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 279. Only inflected forms, like 1SG  $\check{s}=a=n'o-ka$  {chanoka}, are actually attested. The 3 person verbal suffix is unknown.

## 77. SMALL

Lomerio Chiquitano  $\check{c}im^y a-ma$  {*chimiama*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano  $kenenes'e-s \sim kenen'es\check{e}-ma$  {*keneneses ~ kenenesema*} (2) /  $n=iatok\check{a}-ma$  {*niatokama*} # (3).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 102, 336; Sans 2010: 151, 156 ( $\check{c}im^y a-m\check{a}-ta_1$  {chimiamantai}). Plural:  $mo=\check{c}io-m\check{a}-ka$  {mochiomanka}. Cf. the hapax *siri-o* {sirio} [Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 90].

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 287. Maybe used of children.

## 78. SMOKE

Lomerio Chiquitano  $n=auns'i-\check{s} \sim n=aus'i-\check{s}$  {*naunsixhi ~ nausixhi*} (1).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 373; Sans 2010: 139; MBI.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Not attested.

## 79. STAND

Lomerio Chiquitano  $at\check{i}-ra-i$  {*atirai*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano  $at\check{i}:-ra-y$  {*atüürai*} # (1).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 353; Sans 2010: 146. *š*-class. Cf. *točē-ko* {tochenko} 'to stop' [Galeote Tormo 1993: 346].

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 283. *š*-class. Translated as 'to stand up'.

## 80. STAR

Lomerio Chiquitano  $n=o=stop'e-s \sim n=o=\check{s}top'e-s$  {*nostoñese ~ noxtoñese*} (1), Porto

Esperidiao Chiquitano  $n=o=suton'i\tilde{e}-s \sim n=o=stoj'i\tilde{e}-s / suton'i\tilde{e}-s$  {nosutonhēs ~ nostonhēs / sntonhēs} (1).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 346; Sans 2010: 138, 164; MBI.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 281. Male / female speech.

## 81. STONE

Lomerio Chiquitano  $k\tilde{a}-\xi$  {kanxi} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano  $ka'a\tilde{a}-\xi$  {kaārch} (1).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 14, 32, 44, 58; Galeote Tormo 1993: 379; Sans 2010: 138; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 60, 61; MBI.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 286.

## 82. SUN

Lomerio Chiquitano  $su-\xi$  {suxi} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano  $su'u-\xi \sim su'i-\xi$  {suurch ~ suiurch} (1).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 52; Galeote Tormo 1993: 354; Sans 2010: 138; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 67; MBI.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 289.

## 83. SWIM

Lomerio Chiquitano  $\beta=a=tu-$  {batu-} (1).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2010: 146. 3 person verbal suffix unknown.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Not attested.

## 84. TAIL

Lomerio Chiquitano  $n=iy'o-\xi$  {niyoxi} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano  $n=i'o-\xi$  {niorch} (1).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 345; Sans 2010: 133; MBI. The prefix  $n=$  is segmented tentatively.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 288.



## 85. THAT

Lomerio Chiquitano  $a=\xi i=m'anu$  /  $a=\xi i=m'ani-ki$  {*aximanu* / *aximaniki*} (1) /  $a=\xi i=n'ã=ta$  /  $na=ki=ta$  {*axinanta* / *nakita*} (2).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 56, 64; Galeote Tormo 1993: 130; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 65, 75, 76, 88, 89, 90, 91. Non-masculine / masculine. Plural:  $a=\xi i=mani-o$  /  $a=\xi i=manu-ma$  {*aximano* / *aximanuma*}. Medial deixis. Sans 2013: 49; Galeote Tormo 1993: 130. Non-masculine / masculine. Plural:  $a=\xi i=\beta a=ta$  {*axibata*}. Distal deixis.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Not attested.

## 86. THIS

Lomerio Chiquitano  $a=\xi i=n'a$  /  $na-k'i$  {*axina* / *naki*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano  $a\check{s}u=n'o\check{o}$  {*achuno'õ*} (1).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 59, 68, 69; Galeote Tormo 1993: 130; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 66, 74, 78. Non-masculine / masculine. Plural:  $a=\xi i=\beta'a$  /  $a=\xi i=\beta'a-ma$  {*axiba* / *axibama*}.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 280.

## 87. THOU

Lomerio Chiquitano  $'a=\xi i=k-i$  {*axiki*} (1) /  $a- \sim \dots-$  {*a- \sim \dots-*} (2), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano  $a=\check{s}'i=\dots-i \sim h'a=\check{s}'i=\dots-i$  /  $a- \sim \dots-$  {*achüü \sim hachüü* / *a- \sim \dots-*}e  $a- \sim \emptyset$ } (2).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 126; Sans 2010: 152; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 64. Pronoun. Cf. the accusative enclitic  $=ki$  {=*ki*}. Distinct from the polite pronoun  $a\check{s}=a\eta o$  {*axaño*} [Sans 2010: 152]. Sans 2013: 24-28. A prefix found in nouns and descriptive verbs. Cf. S<sub>A</sub> marker  $\dots-a-$  {*a-*}; A marker  $a-i-$  {*ai-*} [Sans 2013: 29].f

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 289.

## 88. TONGUE

Lomerio Chiquitano  $ut'u-\xi$  {*utuxi*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano  $n=ot'u-\xi$  {*noturch*} # (1).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 7, 26; Galeote Tormo 1993: 86, 358; Sans 2010: 140, 174; MBI. Linking consonant =*ɲ*= {=ñ=}.  
**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 283. Only the 1SG *ɲi=ɲ=otv* {nhĩoto} is actually attested.

## 89. TOOTH

Lomerio Chiquitano *ðʔ'ð-ɕ* {*o'oxi*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *n=oʔ'o-ɕ* {*no'orch*} (1).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 7, 12; Galeote Tormo 1993: 86, 349; Sans 2010: 141; MBI. Linking consonant =*s*= {=*s*=}.  
**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 279. Linking consonant =*c*= {=*s*=}.

## 90. TREE

Lomerio Chiquitano *su'e-s ~ so'e-s* {*suese ~ soese*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *so'i-si* {*soise*} (1).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 39, 50-52, 56-57 (*so'e-s* {*soese*}); Galeote Tormo 1993: 19; Sans 2010: 138; MBI.  
**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 283. Polysemy: 'firewood / tree'.

## 91. TWO

Lomerio Chiquitano *toɕ ~ to:ɕ* {*toxi ~ tooxi*} (-1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *doš* {*doch*} (-1).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 47, 63; Sans 2010: 151; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 68. Borrowed from Spanish *dos* {*dos*} 'id.'.   
**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 280. Borrowed from Spanish *dos* {*dos*} or Portuguese *dois* {*dois*}.

## 92. GO

Lomerio Chiquitano *y=i-ka-ti* {*yikati*} (1) / *si-r'o-ti* {*siroti*} (2), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *sí-r'o-tv* {*süroto*} (2).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 39, 42; Galeote Tormo 1993: 179. Suppletive (used in 1SG, 2SG and 1INCL non-past forms). Sans [2013: 23] and Krüsi & Krüsi [1975: 61, 69, 91-92] also list the root =*e*- or =*o*- in the first person: 1SG *y=e-ka-ti ~ i=k'a-ti* {*yekati ~ ikiati*}, 1INCL *o=e-ka-ti* {*oekati*}. Subjunctive 1SG: *y=i-r'o-ti* {*yiroti*} [Sans 2013: 44, 58]. Distinct from *amê-ko* {*amenko*} 'to walk' [Galeote Tormo 1993: 162; Sans 2010: 147, 172]. Other suppletive stems include: *som=e-ka-ti / om=e-no-ti* {*somekati / omenoti*} [Sans 2013: 56; Galeote Tormo 1993: 179] (used in 1EXCL, 2PL and 3PL.NM non-past forms; Krüsi & Krüsi [1975: 61, 69, 92] list this root

also in the first person: 1SG *y=e-ka-ti* {yekati}, 1INCL *o=e-ka-ti* {oekati}); *y=a-ka-ti* {yakati} [Sans 2013: 22, 42; Galeote Tormo 1993: 179; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 67, 69] (used in the 1st and 2nd person past forms); *y=e-βo-ti* {yeboti} [Galeote Tormo 1993: 179] (used in the 3rd person past forms and apparently also in 3rd person subjunctive [Sans 2013: 50, 52]); *yik'i-š* {yikixi} [Sans 2013: 52, 54; Galeote Tormo 1993: 360; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 80, 92] (nominalization); *arioš* {arioxi} [Sans 2013: 64, 65; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 89-91] ('went away', probably a borrowing from Spanish *ad'yos* {adiós}).k

).Sans 2013: 44, 48-49, 52, 54; Galeote Tormo 1993: 179; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 88, 92. Suppletive (used in 3SG and 3PL.M non-past forms).

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 283. A suppletive stem, but 1SG, 2SG and 1INCL forms are not attested. Cf. 3SG past *y=e-v'o-tu* {yevoto}, 2PL *hom=e-no-ta* {homenota} [Santana 2012: 282]. Cf. *am'e-ku* {ameko} 'to walk' [Santana 2012: 274].

### 93. HOT

Lomerio Chiquitano *p'e-ko* ~ *p'e:-ko* {peko ~ peeko} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *p<sup>y</sup>ey-k'i-š* ~ *pey-k'i-š* {pieikich ~ peikich} # (1).

#### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 58; Galeote Tormo 1993: 350; Sans 2010: 138 (*p'e-ko* {peeko}). Cf. *β=a=pe-ro* {bapero} 'to warm up' [Galeote Tormo 1993: 162], *wi-ra-ra* {uirara} 'to burn (intransitive) / to become hot' [Galeote Tormo 1993: 358, 363].

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 277. Might be used of weather.

### 94. WATER

Lomerio Chiquitano *tu-š* {tuxi} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *tu'u-š* {tuurch} (1).

#### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 58-60; Galeote Tormo 1993: 357; Sans 2010: 138; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 67, 84, 86; MBI.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 273.

### 95. WE<sub>1</sub>

Lomerio Chiquitano *a=š=ʼoŋ-i* / *o-* ~ *os-* ~ *oy-* ~ *oŋ-* ~ *oš-* ~ *u-* ~ *us-* ~ *uy-* ~ *uŋ-* ~ *uš-* {axoñi / *o-* ~ *os-* ~ *oy-* ~ *oñ-* ~ *oxh-* ~ *u-* ~ *us-* ~ *uy-* ~ *uñ-* ~ *uxh-*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *a=š=on-ʼẽžẽ* ~ *hoyn-ʼẽ* / *hoc-* ~ *hoŋ-* ~ *hoyn-* {achonẽẽ ~ hoinẽ / *hos-* ~ *honh-* ~ *hoin-*} (1).

#### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 24-28; Galeote Tormo 1993: 126; Sans 2010: 152. Inclusive. *aš=oŋ-i* {axoñi} is a pronoun (cf. the accusative enclitic *=oŋ-i* {=oñi}). The other forms are allomorphs of a prefix found in nouns and descriptive verbs. Cf. S<sub>A</sub> marker (*u*)β- *a-* {(u)ba-}; A marker *u-i-* {ui-} [Sans 2013: 29].

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 285. Likely inclusive.

### 95. WE<sub>2</sub>

Lomerio Chiquitano  $a=\xi i=som-i \sim a=\xi=som-i / sui= \sim so\beta= \sim som= \sim su\beta= \sim sum= \{axisomi / sui= \sim sob= \sim som= \sim sub= \sim sum=\}$  (2), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano  $sov- \{sov-\}$  (2).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 126; Sans 2010: 152. Exclusive.  $a=\xi i=som-i \sim a=\xi=som-i$  {axisomi} is a pronoun (cf. the accusative enclitic  $=som-i$  {=somi}). The other forms are allomorphs of a prefix found in nouns and descriptive verbs. Cf.  $S_A$  marker  $(u)\beta-a-$  {(u)ba-}; A marker  $u-i-$  {ui-} [Sans 2013: 29].

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 285. Likely exclusive.

## 96. WHAT

Lomerio Chiquitano  $isan'e \{isane\}$  (1).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 68; Galeote Tormo 1993: 132; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 69.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Not attested.

## 97. WHITE

Lomerio Chiquitano  $purusu\beta'i \{purusubi\}$  (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano  $purusu\theta'i \sim pu\theta'u\theta'i \{purusuvi \sim purchu\theta'i\}$  (1).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 102; Sans 2010: 150; MBI. Plural:  $\beta u=purusu\beta i$  {bupurusubi}.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 276.

## 98. WHO

Lomerio Chiquitano  $kit'i \{kiti\}$  (1) /  $\etaaku-na \{\etaakuna\}$  (2).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 67, 70; Galeote Tormo 1993: 351; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 92. Galeote Tormo 1993: 132; Sans 2010: 172 ( $\etaaku-t'i$  {ñankuti}).  $=\check{c}e$  {=che}, when combined with adpositions [Galeote Tormo 1993: 133-134].

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Not attested.

## 99. WOMAN

Lomerio Chiquitano  $pa\ddot{i}-\xi \{paixi\}$  (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano  $pa\ddot{i}'-\xi \{paürch\}$  (1).

**References and notes:**

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 12, 20, 55; Galeote Tormo 1993: 19, 350; Sans 2010: 155; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 73.  
**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 285.

## 100. YELLOW

Lomerio Chiquitano *amariyu* ~ *n=amari:yu* ~ *n=amari:y'u-ŋ* {*amariyu* ~ *namariiyu* ~ *namariyuxi*} (-1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *amar'iri-w* {*amaririo*} (-1).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 331 (*amariyu* {*amariyu*}); Sans 2010: 150 (*n=amariy'u-ŋ* {*namariiyuxi*}); MBI (*n=amari:yu* {*namariiyu*}). Borrowed from Spanish *amar'iy-o* {*amarillo*}.  
**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 273. Borrowed from Spanish *amar'iy-o* {*amarillo*}.

## 101. FAR

Lomerio Chiquitano *iče* {*iche*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *iče* {*iche*} (1).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2013: 55, 61; Galeote Tormo 1993: 338; Sans 2010: 157; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 91.  
**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 283.

## 102. HEAVY

Lomerio Chiquitano *umia-n'ene* {*umianene*} (1).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 358; Sans 2010: 157; Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 83.  
**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Not attested.

## 103. NEAR

Lomerio Chiquitano *sai-m<sup>y</sup>a* {*saimia*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *say-na'ã-ma* {*sainhaama*} (1).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 354; Sans 2010: 157 (*s'a<sub>1</sub>m<sup>y</sup>ã-ta<sub>1</sub>* {*saimiantai*}); Krüsi & Krüsi 1975: 89, 91. Distinct from the adposition *esa* {*esa*} 'close to' [Sans 2013: 41; Galeote Tormo 1993: 335].  
**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 287.

#### 104. SALT

Lomerio Chiquitano *si'i-ɣ* {*siixi*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *si'i-ɣ* {*siürch*} (1).

##### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 354; Sans 2010: 138 (*siy'i-ɣ* {*siyixi*}); MBI.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 288.

#### 105. SHORT

##### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Not attested.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Not attested.

#### 106. SNAKE

Lomerio Chiquitano *n=o=išob'o-ɣ* {*noixhoboxi*} (1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *n=o=šo'u-ɣ* / *šo'u-ɣ* {*nohourch* / *chourch*} (1).

##### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 346; MBI. Apparently a more general word than *n=o=βasirik'o-ɣ* {*nobasirikioxi*} and *n=aβar'a-ɣ* {*nabaraxi*} ('Colubridae' (?)), which are translated as 'culebra' rather than 'serpiente' in [Galeote Tormo 1993: 345] and [Sans 2010: 133], even though in spoken Spanish 'culebra' is usually used as an exact synonym of 'serpiente'.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 278. Male / female speech.

#### 107. THIN

Lomerio Chiquitano *kipaiŋa* {*kipaiña*} (1).

##### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 335; Sans 2010: 157 (translated as 'narrow').

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Not attested.

#### 108. WIND

Lomerio Chiquitano *makiit'i-ɣ* {*makiitixi*} (1) / *māk'a-ɣ* {*mankaxi*} (2), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano *makiit'i-ɣ* {*makiitürch*} (1).

##### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 342; MBI. More specifically, northern wind. Translated as 'north' in [Sans 2010: 173]. Galeote Tormo 1993: 342. More specifically, southern wind. Translated as 'south' in [Sans 2010: 173].  
**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 290.

## 109. WORM

Lomerio Chiquitano  $n=u=ta\eta ip'i-\xi$  {*nutañipixi*} (1).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Sans 2010: 133. Denotes earthworms. Distinct from other terms for worms, like  $n=ikim'i-\xi$  {*nikimixi*} 'worm / larva' [Galeote Tormo 1993: 372; Sans 2010: 134; MBI],  $n=i\check{s}'i-\check{s}$  {*nixhixhi*} 'rainbow / gnome / *jichi* / gusano' [Galeote Tormo 1993: 345],  $n=o=\check{s}orokot'\check{o}-\xi$  {*noxorokotonxi*} 'a k. of worm covered with venomous hairs, *burro burro* worm' [Galeote Tormo 1993: 346];  $n=o=terer'e-s$  {*noterere*} '*quema quema* worm' [Galeote Tormo 1993: 346].

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Not attested. Distinct from  $n=i\check{s}'i-\check{s}$  {*nichich*} 'larva' [Santana 2012: 276].

## 110. YEAR

Lomerio Chiquitano  $n=asiki\beta'e-s \sim n=aski\beta'e-s$  {*nasikibese*} (1) / 'año-ξ {*añoxi*} (-1), Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano  $n=askiv'e-s$  {*nasküves*} (1).

### References and notes:

**Lomerio Chiquitano:** Galeote Tormo 1993: 344; Sans 2010: 172. The prefix  $n=$  is segmented tentatively. Sans 2013: 68. Borrowed from Spanish 'año {año} 'year'.

**Porto Esperidiao Chiquitano:** Santana 2012: 274.